726 river.[11] By drawing their warriors from a number of villages,
701 the Munduruca were able to leave enough men in each village to support those women, children, and old people who were not able to leave. They were also able to amass a greater number of warriors, especially when it was necessary to face the Portuguese colonial troops that were sent against them in the late 18th century.

619 Such efforts called for a series of social linkages
602 between villages. This was provided by the social organization which crosscut the society in two ways: by bonds of matrilocality and by the system of sibs and moieties. This meant that those men of the village who came from other villages through marriage were linked to those villages by birth and by the residence there of the mother's family. Such linkages formed a chain whereby all villages ultimately were bound to one another by interpersonal ties. The bonds tying each
614 individual to the rest of the society were further tightened by the patrilineal sib system. In most Munduruca villages, a person could find other members of his sib. To these people he had especially close ties and obligations, but he also considered all the members of his exogamic moiety to be relatives. Ultimately, but to a diminished degree, Munduruca of the other moiety were felt to be related and were called by kin terms. The people themselves say, "We are all kin, one of another."

11. This was reported to the writer verbally by Dr. Darcy Ribeiro, Chief of the Section of Studies, Brazilian Indian Protection Service. Dr. Ribeiro has conducted extensive ethnographic research among the Urubu and heard of these attacks from his informants. This confirms Martius' report of the same event (Martius, 1867, p. 334).

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The vocative kinship terminology, male speaking, resembles the Tupi-Guarani type system discussed by Wagley and Galvão (1946). It is bifurcate merging, and Ego has only brothers and sisters on his own generation. A significant departure from the generation principle is found in the equivalence of mother's mother and father's sister, both subsumed under the term *ewak*. The identification of these two relatives is continued in the referential system. This classification could come about as a result of the practice of sister's daughter, or avuncular, marriage operating in conjunction with the cross-cousin marriage expectable in a moiety system. With cross-cousin marriage, Ego's mother's father and the father's mother are brother and sister, and, when combined with avuncular marriage, Ego's father's sister is a possible wife for the mother's father. Thus viewed, Ego's mother's father's wife, or mother's mother, is the same person as the father's sister.

Further support for this theory comes from the referential terminology, which, I might suggest, is perhaps more conservative than the vocative. The mother's brother's children and the sister's children are referred to as *we ebi*, a logical result if the mother's brother marries Ego's sister under the rule of avuncular marriage. To further classify the brother's wife as *we ebi* is illustrative of both cross-cousin and avuncular marriage. The equivalence of mother's brother and father's sister's son is a function of their possible identity under conditions of avuncular marriage. Although contemporary Munduruca informants deny that sister's daughter marriage ever existed and affirm it to be proscribed, this disparity between the kinship system and actual practice will be seen to be a result of culture lag.

The method of analysis employed above seems to follow almost completely that used by Rivers (1914), and is no doubt in violation of Murdock's dictum (1949:123) that marriage customs are likely to operate as determinants of kinship structure only "when they apply to all or most marriages within a society." It should therefore be noted that the Munduruca kinship system, as analyzed above, is not structured by the practice of avuncular marriage, or cross-cousin marriage, or the levirate, or the sororate but by all four practices working as codeterminants within a patrilineal framework.[8] In terms of the kinship system these marriage customs are all functionally interrelated, and together they may well have comprised the majority of Munduruca marriages at one time. Murdock states (*Ibid*:126) the above implied limitations of the statistical method in the following:

> "Since multiple factors are nearly always operative, perfect statistical correlations between any particular kinship determinant and the terminological features that it tends to produce should never be expected, even if the hypothesis is entirely sound."

All Munduruca considered themselves to be related to all other Munduruca by ties of varying degrees of closeness. One's closest relatives were the members of the nuclear family. Beyond this, the clan became the unit of greatest solidarity, and the Munduruca emphasized their brotherhood with fellow members. They also felt a closer affinity for members of their own moiety as contrasted

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to the opposite one. Finally, when a Munduruc\u00fa is queried about the close solidarity of the tribe as a whole, he says, "We are all related."

Extension of kin terms was complete in Munduruc\u00fa society. Males of one's own moiety were addressed as "grandfather" (*adjui*) or "father" (*bai*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation were either "older" (*wun yé*) or "younger (*o bát*) brother." On the descending generations there were only "sons" (*bekit*) and "grandsons" (*ispó*). Females of one's own moiety were called "aunt" (*adjung*), if older. All other females of the same moiety were addressed as "daughter" (*da ú*).

In the opposite moiety, the Munduruc\u00fa had "grandfathers" (*adjui*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*ispó*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety were addressed as "older" (*wunyé*) and "younger (*o bát*) brothers," with the exception of age-mates, who were called (*o sum*). Females of the opposite moiety were called "grandmother" (*awak*), "mother" (*ai i*), and "daughter" (*da ú*), according to their age or intervening kin ties relative to Ego. These vocative terms were used exclusively as forms of address until recent years. Referential terms were also used to the exclusion of personal names when speaking of a person. In cases of possible confusion, the clan name of the person under discussion was prefixed to the referential kin term. Every Munduruc\u00fa could, and still can, place every other Munduruc\u00fa in some relationship category. A visitor in a village need only ask a few questions about the clan names of its residents to place everybody in proper context. A few more questions as to mutual relationships would be sufficient to establish true consanguinal connections.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

The picture of Munduruc\u00fa society so far presented is one of a culturally, linguistically and self-consciously unitary group which emphasized hostility towards the outside world and harmony within its own. Integration on a tribal level was strengthened by the complete pervasion of kinship, by the continued sense of unity of clan fragments, and by intervillage co-operation in warfare and ritual. In the following analysis of village structure in the nineteenth century, a clearer understanding of over-all tribal integration will be obtained from the point of view of Munduruc\u00fa intervillage connections.

The social structure of the Munduruc\u00fa village was characterized by a deep cleavage between male and female roles, and a separation of the institutional frameworks within which each sex operated. Fundamental to this division were the institutions of the men's house and the dwelling houses. Each Munduruc\u00fa village consisted of a men's house and a number of large dwelling houses, all arranged in a circle about a central plaza. The men's house always occupied the western extremity of the circle and faced eastward toward the plaza. The dwellings were large structures with elliptical floor plans, and walls made of sheets of bark. The roofs were thatched with palm leaves. Each dwelling housed a considerable extended family, and house populations must have averaged from fifty to perhaps eighty. There are now two to five such houses

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NOTES

[1] The field research on which this paper is based was supported by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and by the William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellowship awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University.

The writer's wife, Yolanda Murphy, co-operated in all phases of the collection and evaluation of the field data. Drs. Fred Eggan, A. L. Kroeber, George P. Murdock, Julian Steward, and Charles Wagley read and commented upon this paper, and the author wishes to express his gratitude for their aid and interest.

[2] For the purposes of this paper the spelling of Mundurucú words is a simple Anglicization, except in the following cases: i and u have the phonetic values of Spanish i and u; ö is pronounced as in German; ĩ and ũ are nasal sounds.

[3] The identical marriage practices have been found in South America in bilateral societies having an essentially Dakota type kinship system. The difference between these cases and the Mundurucú seems to be most simply explained as a function of the line through which relationship is traced. A bilateral system would probably emphasize cross-cousin marriage, while sister's daughter marriage would be more clearly indicated in a patrilineal organization. Data on referential systems is, unfortunately, generally omitted or not clearly distinguished from the vocative system in the literature, and it is therefore difficult to analyze the terminology by the method followed herein.

[4] The trumpets are long hollow cylinders with reeds inserted in the mouth. The vibrations of the reeds emerge from the trumpet, essentially an echo chamber, as a deep reverberating sound. The instruments have a phallic symbolism which is evident when considered in connection with the associated legend. That the symbolic association between the genitalia and male dominance is not too remote in the male subconscious is suggested by the informant who, when asked how the Mundurucú "tame their women," replied "with the banana." These comments do not mean that I propose a psychological explanation of this complex. It merely indicates the deep interaction between culture and personality, structurally viewed. For our present purpose, it is preferable to view the complex as an integral part of the sociocultural structure.

[5] The reader will note that this is a somewhat different concept than the usual generalized statement of 'increase in the economic importance' of women. Eggan (1950:131) views the continuance of matrilocality among the Hopi in much the same light.

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soning may well be extended to the Mundurucú custom of avuncular marriage, or to various types of preferential union in many societies undergoing such changes. On the subject of its taboo, however, Watson deduces that the sister's daughter marriage has fallen under a general Cayuá prohibition on marriages with close kin. This has obviously no relevance to the Mundurucu situation, for no such prohibition exists among them, as the occasional cross-cousin union indicates.

I would prefer to advance an alternate explanation for the taboo, based on the proposition that there is often an incest taboo beween co-residents, whatever their genealogical connection may be.[24] Given the shift in residence rules that has been noted, the mother's brother and his sister's daughter are co-residents, at least until the time of his marriage. Thus, a union with her would be endogamous to the household and would not only be disruptive of the good order of the residential unit, following Malinowski,[25] but would tend to isolate the household from the larger society, a point that Leslie White, among others, has stressed.[26] That sister's daughter marriage is congruent with a patrilocal residence rule would also, it might be added, lend confirmation to the thesis that the Mundurucú are patrilocal.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Kinship is still an all-pervasive means of ordering social relations among the savannah Mundurucú. Every person in the entire tribe is considered to be related to every other and is known to him and addressed by him by a kin term. Reference to the list below of kin terms used by males indicates how these relations are structured.

[24] Cf. Titiev, 1943, p. 518.
[25] Malinowski, 1930, p. 630.
[26] White, 1948, p. 25.

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SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated into the society and are said to have remained loyal even in wars against the villages where they were born. The unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elaborate facial and body tatooing that until recent years was the hallmark of all Mundurucú.

The villages had independent subsistence economies, but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two communities might coöperate. But a number of villages usually participated in war expeditions and the major ceremonies. These occasions provided the opportunity for scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse residence to coöperate in valued activity.

Warfare was of special importance in this regard, because it called for a high degree of organization and coöperation. When the initiative was taken by the men of one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a member of the *Muchacha enyen*, a society composed of particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other communities and extend invitations to take part in the hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village accepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to protect the women, children, and old people and to continue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus, intervillage coöperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses of the villages.

The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pa-

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602 628 619 trilineal clansmen through a matrilocal residence rule resulted in cross-cutting bonds of descent and residence that constituted the very web of intervillage relations. For example, a man who married a woman of another village and took up residence in the men's house there, has most complex allegiances. He observes a tie to his affinal relatives, and he is a member of a men's organization that includes fellow moiety members and perhaps some of his clan and phratry. But beyond the village, the man is linked to his parents and extended family, as well as to the men of his native community. Since his brothers might have become similarly scattered in marriage, his bonds extend also to their villages. Finally, he has ties with all his scattered clansmen. In short, the lack of localized patrilineages prevents the compartmental segmentation of the society along conjunctive lines of kinship and territory.

571 575 619 Integration was furthered also by such groups as the *Muchacha anyen* society, the men's ceremonial group known as the *Biu ši anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir), and the *Darek ši anyen* (Mothers of the Arrow), an organization to which all Mundurucú warriors belonged.

121 The thesis that contradictory modes of descent and residence are conducive to multicommunity, or tribal, integration is not new; Fred Eggan reached the same conclusion when weighing evidence that a similar organization existed among the Gros Ventre Indians.[1] And as early as 1917, A. L. Kroeber stated, with reference to the Zuni, the more general principle that the presence in a society of a number of social groups with overlapping membership results in "segmentations which produce an almost marvelous complexity, but can never break the national entity apart."[2] From the viewpoints of logic and empirical data,

[1] Eggan, 1937, p. 34.
[2] Kroeber, 1917, p. 183.

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them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid.

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence.

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations; and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe.

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers

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that dictate other choices of residence. Most savannah marriages are still predominantly matrilocal, but there is a pronounced trend toward slackening of the rule and, perhaps, ultimate bilocality. The homogeneity of the group of related females has thereby been disturbed. Furthermore, the extended family in its reduced circumstances may include few or no true female siblings, but only matrilateral parallel cousins and more remote collaterals. The net effect of all these factors is to weaken the bonds of kinship in the household and to facilitate the separation of nuclear families or clusters of relatives.

The tightness of extended kinship ties has decreased. The nuclear family has gained greater importance because it is the consumption unit in the trade economy, and the extended family has correspondingly suffered. During the rubber season, the nuclear family is frequently the basic social and economic unit. Clanship has been preserved and continues to be a primary means by which the relations of the tribesmen are structured. But the clans long ago lost most of their corporate rights and obligations with the disappearance of their residential nuclei. Clanship persisted after this loss through large-scale enterprises in which many villages participated and which afforded clansmen the opportunity to coöperate and associate. But these activities too have declined, and the significant group of intensively interacting kinsmen is now restricted to the membership of individual villages. Relations between scattered clansmen are still maintained but seldom activated. Since a man usually has few, or no, clan fellows as village co-residents, the unity of descent groups is thereby weakened. It is seen, then, that in several respects the contradiction between descent and residence makes for fundamental instability in the social structure.

The most important force in the process of stripping the

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a distinctively Brazilian trait. The village site is a well-weeded, long, rectangular clearing throughout which the houses are scattered. On the periphery of the clearing are the latex-smoking sheds of the men who are able to use the village as a base of rubber-tapping operations. Paths radiate outward from the village in the direction of the port on the Cururú River, the watering place, the gardens, and the rubber avenues. One little-used path goes beyond to connect with the network of trails which interconnect the savannah villages. Today, this is one of the two remaining trails linking that region with the Cururú.

The size of the average savannah household is but a shadow of former days, but it is still much larger than that of the Cururú. Of the ten occupied houses in Missão Velha, six contain but one nuclear family each, two houses are the residences of groups composed of two families, and two houses have three nuclear families each. Co-residence is based on kinship in the multifamily dwellings, but relationship is just as often in the male line as in the female. Significantly, in all cases of joint residence, each nuclear family occupies a definite section of the house, which is partitioned off by a wattle-and-daub wall.

Although co-residence implies kinship, the converse does not hold true in Missão Velha. Several villagers were related by close ties of consanguinity but maintained separate dwellings. Such kinsmen, however, frequently joined forces in clearing and planting gardens. Except for these joint efforts which are not an invariable rule and which never include more than two or three nuclear families, the household is the basic economic unit. The division of labor in this village and on the Cururú, in general, is in marked contrast to the savannahs, for not only is the average household composed of a smaller number of families, but there is little coöperation between the houses.

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166 182 It does not require a particularly strong motive to induce an Indian to leave his village. The villages have lost almost all their bases of cohesion. The considerations of coöperative labor and social organization, which have made the savannah villages continue to function, have now lapsed. The only remaining centripetal factors are the equipment of the farinha shed, bonds of close kinship, and the desire for sociability. The latter two factors are now waning in importance on the Cururú.

182 602 The ties of consanguinity show every evidence of weakening. Sib identity is preserved in the naming system, and moiety exogamy is usually observed in the choice of marriage partners. This, however, is already deteriorating, for there are now some unions between persons of the same [835] moiety, and violations of incest rules in casual sexual relations are much more frequent than in the savannah communities.

Kin ties have suffered in other ways. The circle of kinsmen significant to the individual in his daily social life and in the subsistence economy is constantly shrinking. Thus, an Indian might be able to identify and name a wide range of kinsmen (like the average European), but the fact of relationship is no longer of primary importance in patterns of coöperation, distribution, and interpersonal behavior. The important kinsmen are those who share a residence and join in the labor necessary to provide for the household needs. This group has become progressively [594] smaller on the Cururú, and it can be safely said that the nuclear family is well on the way to becoming the basic socioeconomic unit. It is significant that, while the common form of address on the savannahs is still by kinship [551] term, Mundurucú proper names and, increasingly, Christian names are more generally used on the Cururú.

182 621 The Cururú villages never did achieve stable integra-

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pet spirits are still sought, but there is common confusion about the exact meaning and role of the supernaturals. 182 794

The change in residence patterns must have had a great effect on the whole system of behavior expected between various categories of kinsmen. Lack of data makes it impossible to reconstruct the social system under patrilocality in any detail, but since the transformation surrounded each role player with a totally different array of complementary roles, one may infer that modifications occurred in nearly all aspects of social relations. It is known, however, that cross-cousin and sister's-daughter marriages were formerly preferred, although matrilocality has resulted in the absolute taboo of the latter union. The Mundurucú still express a verbal preference for the cross-cousin marriage, but the infrequency of its occurrence suggests that loss of lineages has robbed it of its primary function as a means of solidifying ties between kin groups. 182 591 602 ● [582]

One of the most interesting features of Mundurucú matrilocality is the inability of the resultant social system to accommodate the open expression of conflict. The previous situation in this regard is not known, but if anthropological findings among other patrilineal and patrilocal peoples can be extended to the Mundurucú, one might expect that conflict need not be disruptive and might actually contribute to the maintenance of the social system. Cross-cutting bonds based on residence and descent, the nonequivalence of kin and local groups, however, prevent the development of open factions, because factional conflict would entangle the individual in conflicting loyalties. Segments of the society are not able to gain internal solidarity and to define their boundaries through opposition to other segments, except by the destruction of other modes of group organization. This lack of what has been called internal "structural opposition" is partly responsible for the 182 578 591

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assistance, on compensation for the labor rendered to the community. Aside from this statement about a collective garden, the informants also mentioned private family gardens, where they chiefly (but not exclusively) cultivated supplementary, accessory foods, such as bananas, pepper, etc. The data gathered, however, give no clear evidence as to whether this collective garden served for the communal, daily use of the group, or whether it merely existed as a reserve in case of need, in the assistance of the old and incapacitated, in the sustenance of guests, or as a ceremonial garden to contribute to important festivities. Regarding a type of garden among the Tenetehara, used communally but owner privately, see Wagley-Galvão (1948: 139).

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members help each other; and each must assist the others, when their turn comes to prepare their plot. Thus there exists, with reference to this collective work, an elaborate system of revenue and compensation on an equalitarian basis. Days of labor are received, and later this assistance is repaid in kind with days of labor. We are dealing here, therefore, with a broad system of mutual assistance. Naturally, the owner of the new plot finds his chief support among /25/ his own kin: adult children, brothers, brothers-in-law, sons-in-law, etc. This mutual assistance, however, is not obtained spontaneously, but through personal invitations proferred individually rather than collectively. The manner of doing this is

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*241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the mature garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Mundurukú family regarding the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

178 How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Mundurukú? Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Mundurukú have given up the system of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result, they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus tooeach man or each family prepares his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

*241 177 182 462 476 As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among the Mundurukú the division and execution of garden tasks according to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual cooperation by invitation, are very stable culture elements. They have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, neo-Brazilian environment.

*241 ●602 421 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)

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*241 602 421 are closely united, or when, owing to some reverse, one of the family members cannot prepare his own garden but can help in the preparation of that of his father, brother, son, etc. then, sometimes, a communal plot is prepared. This refers, however, to the concept of "garden" in its absolute sense: a garden of bitter manioc, of tubercles. For they always continue to plant their own bananas, pepper, etc., separately, for their own private use, each family for itself. This type of "communal garden" is found also (or exclusively?) /27/ outside the old community, among the acculturated Mundurukú. I observed such a case, between father and son, in the mission itself, where everyone has his own home. Both parties have equal right to the use of the garden. This type of "communal garden" is quite similar to that known among the peasants as a "company garden." The difference between the two types might perhaps be defined as follows: the "communal garden" serves directly for the use and sustenance of the families involved; the "company garden" exists on a contract basis, and its foundations and goals are usually commercial.

423 428 Once there is property, there arises the problem of inheritance. Each garden has its owner, with all ownership rights. In case of death, the plot passes into the hands of the eldest son, who is, however, nothing more than the "administrator" of this inheritance with a share in the usufruct. The heir is the family, represented by the eldest son in the sense that he must look after the plot, which the family shares along with him. When there is no family, the brothers inherit the plot. If there are no brothers, the other relatives do. In any case, the garden is not allowed to go to waste, and its produce is always utilized.

3. Garden and group: intraterritorial migrations

*241 361 At first sight, the Mundurukú gardens often seem to lie far from the house or village. And, in fact, this is frequently the case. But this is nearly always the result of long years of permanence in one and the same spot. As time goes by, the soil around the houses be- [134] comes weak and exhausted. (15)2A It is for this reason that the Indian

2A [See category 116, p. 32 for explanation of this footnote--analyst]